The
COMMONWEAL

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Americans Who Are Japanese

THE problems of our Japanese fellow citizens continue to be many and varied. Certainly the release by the government of the atrocities report did nothing to help them. It at once produced demands that they be exported *in toto*. An organization describing itself as the "Arts Council of Japanese Americans for Democracy" issued a statement denouncing the "brutal and depraved acts of the Japanese fascists against every human decency." *Time* published two letters from American soldiers who had fought alongside Japanese American units in Italy warmly defending the fine record of their companions in arms and expressing contempt for those who choose to describe the Nisei as "yellow-bellies." Wrote Second Lieutenant E. D. Chasse: "I just came from Italy where I was assigned to the Japanese 100th Infantry Battalion. I never in my life saw any more of a true American than they are. To those people who don't have any military rank, probably don't even know that these little 'yellow-bellies' (as one writer wrote) are saving his skin: I only wish that these people could witness these little 'yellow-bellies' fight." From California comes news of a young Japanese American woman, wife of a "Caucasian," given permission to return to her husband in the small town where she had been born and bred. No sooner had she arrived than the neighbors began to make threats, and very soon husband and wife with their little two-year-old child had to move away from their home town to seek some less prejudiced community. It is little wonder that Dillon Meyer, head of the War Relocation Authority, should have reported in a recent speech that his agency's great problem today is to persuade the Japanese in relocation centers that any welcome awaits them in the outside world. He says that it is far easier to get Americans in the East and Middle West to guarantee jobs and good treatment for Japanese Americans than it is to persuade the latter to take a chance. Everything indicates that here is a problem based on injustice, and that our solution of that problem may itself constitute a further injustice.

Hail, All Hail

THE American labor schools which have sprung up in recent years under religious and other auspices have been accomplishing much in the way of instructing the rank and file as to their rights and duties. Not only have such institutes directly influenced the securing of better working conditions and the development of a wider sense of responsibility on the worker's part, but they have trained for leadership the labor leaders upon whom so much will depend in our uncertain postwar economic society. But there is one serious limitation in the very fact of the organization of a school exclusively for labor; it cannot help but heighten class consciousness in some degree.

That is one drawback that apparently will be overcome at the new State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University, slated for approval by the New York State Legislature. The idea has already been approved unofficially by representatives of labor and industry. The plan, for which the Ives Committee of the State Assembly is responsible, calls for an executive board of two labor leaders, two representatives of management and four representing the State. Students from both labor and management are to have the same instructors, attend the same classes together. Courses on the history, functions, rights and duties of labor and capital jointly attended will provide a sound basis for real understanding. It appears to be the best single means yet devised for working toward harmony in industrial relations, eventually toward a true partnership in which workers and management share responsibility, profits, ownership. It is the precise opposite of the idea of building up the labor union as an instrument for class warfare.

Cornell obviously enjoys an enviable reputation in the educational field. And the presence of its State College of Agriculture, together with its plans for a School of Business Administration, make it an ideal center for the new project. Any

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sound view of society must give due weight to labor, the farmer, management; it must emphasize our common interest in the common good.

Cartels: Private and Government

THE word "cartel" covers a multitude of sins. It is now held primarily responsible for the critical shortages of aluminum, rubber, binoculars, drugs and other strategic products which impeded the American war effort for many vital months. Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge declares that cartel arrangements assigning Germany exclusive markets for certain commodities in Latin America have been important means of extending Axis influence there.

There is, besides, a growing feeling of alarm over dispatches and rumors that are current about postwar cartels. In the public mind the term is identified with the I.G. Farbenindustrie, with which giant American firms made the agreements that resulted for a time in hamstringing our war industries. Moreover, anti-trust feeling has ever been a strong American sentiment and the ideal of competition still enjoys the widest national favor.

Despite past iniquities and present disfavor in America, it is possible that certain cartel-*type* agreements can play a constructive rôle after the war. One of the most practical suggestions on disarmament, for instance, would control the production and distribution of a certain few strategic materials in such a way that only the most astounding feats of *ersatz* would be able to circumvent such control. The difficulty is that if the United States, Russia and Great Britain were, for instance, to control the world's petroleum, it would overcentralize power; it would place many smaller nations in positions of extreme economic and political subservience. To serve constructively, cartels on specific strategic war materials, designed to prevent aggression, would have to be truly international in their management.

However, a workable peacetime economy will have to be expansionist rather than restrictive. Any device which controls sources of raw materials, patents and divides up the globe into markets for the sake of tremendous profits and national strategy actually results in curtailing production. Competition tends in the opposite direction, so much so that at times it results in idle surpluses of unsold goods.

It has yet to be demonstrated that centralized world economic planning would work. Reciprocal trade agreements still appear preferable to attempts to plan production and distribution on a worldwide scale. What is really needed is an intermediary step. Pre-war methods of stimulating production and employment, of raising the general living standard have proved inadequate. Certain modifications of the cartel—hitherto a restrictive influence—seem inevitable.

The "New Yorker" Rebels

LAST WEEK the New York press published the text of a communication from the editors of the *New Yorker* to its contributors, explaining why they had decided not to renew their reprint agreement with the *Reader's Digest*. Since this communication is not likely to receive wide publicity throughout the country, we are here quoting its most important paragraphs:

> The *Digest* started out as a reprint magazine, but grew into something quite different. Nowadays a large proportion of its contents is frankly original with the *Digest* and not presented as reprint material; and of the stuff that is presented as reprint material much actually originates in the office of the *Digest* and then gets farmed out to some other magazine for first publication. The effect of this (apart from spreading a lot of money around) is that the *Digest* is beginning to generate a considerable fraction of the contents of American magazines. This gives us the creeps, as does any centralization of genius. The fact seems to be that some publications are already as good as subsidized by the *Digest*. Our feeling is that if the *Digest* wants to publish a magazine of original material, it should do so in a direct manner. We believe it should not operate through other publications to keep alive the reprint myth. We don't want to be in the position of receiving for consideration a manuscript that has already been bought and paid for by some one else, for we regard such a situation as unhealthy. We were willing to be digested, but we are not willing to be first supplied, then digested.
>
> The *New Yorker*, furthermore, has never been particularly impressed with the *Digest's* capsule theory of life and its assumption that any piece of writing can be improved by extracting every seventh word, like a tooth. We have occasionally been embarrassed to see our stuff after it has undergone alterations at Pleasantville. Mostly, however, we object to the *Digest's* indirect creative function, which is a threat to the free flow of ideas and to the independent spirit.

Anyone familiar with the publishing practice of the *Reader's Digest* must indeed second the views of the editors of the *New Yorker*. Particularly unfortunate is the "farming out" process described above, for it is certainly tantamount to selling the *Digest* under false pretenses. In the past THE COMMONWEAL has occasionally accepted farmed-out articles of this sort, although for many months nothing the *Digest* has submitted to us has seemed to us suitable for our publication. There is a further element in the *Digest* scheme which seems to us an even greater threat "to the free flow of ideas." This is the exclusive contractual arrangement made by the *Digest* for all rights to reprint in this form. Such an arrangement exists with a number of America's best magazines, and it makes it impossible for anyone to compete with the *Reader's Digest* effectively. Were the *RD* thoroughly non-political, this might not be so objectionable; but for many months now the impact of this magazine has been altogether reactionary. The result is that millions of its readers must assume that all the American press is of like mind, and thereby the forces of reaction are subtly and effectively strengthened.

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We Must Decide

ON FEBRUARY 7 David Anderson cabled the New York *Times* a summary of the British War Office's latest listing of the monuments destroyed in the Italian campaign. Pompeii was heavily bombed; Herculaneum is reported unharmed; the reference to Paestum is ambiguous. "The cathedral of Benevento was completely destroyed; the Archbishop's palace at Avellino was razed; the provincial museum of Lucania at Potenza was destroyed with all its contents; the towns and villages of the Melise district are mostly ruins. In Naples six churches were destroyed and nineteen were severely damaged. Among those totally lost is that of Santa Chiara, the finest Gothic church in the city. The cathedral of Capua is gone. So too is a large part of the eleventh-century church of Sant'Angelo-in-Formis."

That is a short condensed account; it is what Mr. Anderson picked out from the War Office report. Of course there was Sicily before. And now there is the abbey of Monte Cassino. There is also Grotta Ferrata. Tivoli, Frascati, Albano. The bombs draw near to Rome. For every church destroyed there are a hundred houses destroyed; for every monument with a name there are a hundred monuments without a name—the fountain in the village with the water coming from a lion's mouth, the monument formed by a balcony with three flower pots and a chair, the monument formed by a garden wall with the pear trees trained in regular formation along it.

As we said last week there are people in England who are worried about this destruction of Italy and about the fact that it is nearing the city of Rome. But these people do not make known their anxiety without being answered. There is this answer which is quoted in Mr. Anderson's dispatch. It is a letter in the London *Times* from Mr. David Naylor.

"Sir: May I inquire if any of the gentlemen so deeply concerned over the ancient monuments of Rome have an only son whom they are prepared to sacrifice on the altar of St. Peter's? If not, may I then ask them to moderate the enthusiasm with which they propose to substitute mine?"

That is an eloquent and succinct bit of writing and it is what any father of an American soldier would also say with his son fighting beneath the abbey of Monte Cassino. It is what we all will say wherever a German gun fires on our men no matter where its emplacement. When you present the question as being a choice between sacrificing lives and saving monuments there can be only one answer. If Italy were a dark tunnel leading to peace we would fight through dark destruction until we emerged into the light of peace. If there were no other choice that would be the way it would have to be. If there were such inevitability there would be no use talking.

There would be no way out.

If from every window in the Vatican the Germans fired upon our men as they advanced into the square of St. Peter's; if from the dome of St. Peter's they hurled grenades into the square beneath; if from the portals of every church in Rome machine guns fired into the streets, we would advance to attack the Vatican, we would bomb St. Peter's, we would enter the churches, fighting. If our troops besiege Rome they will destroy Rome.

And if, having besieged, conquered and destroyed Rome, they proceed northward they will be compelled to continue the destruction of all the cities, towns and villages in which the enemy makes a stand. There is no argument about it: men fired upon will fire back; wherever a building—no matter of what nature—shelters the enemy and stands in our line of fire that building will be destroyed.

If the Italian campaign has been deliberately entered upon and if it is considered essential to victory there is nothing more to be said. Italy is doomed. Everything in Italy is doomed. The experts assigned to the armies who make marks on the maps showing that this building belongs to the Catholic Church, here is a museum, here is an Etruscan tomb, look out that is Assisi, be careful that is San Marco; watch it, watch it, that thing that looks like a barn has Giotto's frescoes on the walls inside—the experts had better come home. They cannot earn their pay. They cannot protect a thing.

That is if the Italian campaign is really what we mean to do, that is if we have really thought it out, if we have made up our minds. If we are committed. All that is gone, in Sicily, in Calabria, in Naples, is gone. It was while we fought our way from Sicily to Cassino and Anzio and the hills round Rome that we found out what it would cost to make Italy a battlefield. It is time now, the last minute now, to decide whether we are held locked to the Germans, and must fight them wherever they choose to resist. It is time now to decide whether we will pursue them into the streets of Rome and whether we and they will bring Rome down in ruins.

If our purpose is irrevocable then the argument as to whether it is possible or not to save the Italian cities is settled. There are books written about the Italian cities and we will have the books and the photographs and that is all we will have. That is all anyone will have in the world. We still can choose whether we think it will suffice. We still can decide whether or not that is how we want things to be.

C. G. PAULDING.

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Europe Divided or United?

A clear definition for a neutral Europe

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi

SHALL Europe be divided into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, after this war, or shall it emerge as a federal union? This question is decisive not only for the future of Europe, but also for the future of the world.

The longer the war lasts the more it becomes evident that Europe cannot revert to its pre-war state of international anarchy. The war has demonstrated that little states are unable to defend their independence successfully without the backing of great powers. And the years before the war gave evidence that the system of mass-production promises mass prosperity only to large markets. The hope of security and the hope of prosperity both will force Europe to abandon its obsolete system of national sovereignty and urge its 20-odd states either to federate into a single union, or individually to join one of their two great neighbors: Imperial Britain or Soviet Russia.

The question whether Europe shall be united or divided has not yet found a definite answer. We hear many opinions on what must not happen to Europe but few voices on what shall happen.

The establishment of the "Advisory Council for Europe" at the Moscow Conference can be considered a first step toward facing the European question as an issue separate from that of post-war world organization. Even before the Moscow Conference Britain's Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, declared in a press conference that the three powers had decided that Europe should not be divided into spheres of interest. Yet some recent developments seem to indicate a trend in the opposite direction. One of these is the signing of a post-war alliance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia which, owing to the difference in size and power between the two partners, can be interpreted as a first step toward a Russian protectorate over the western Slavs. This interpretation is backed by events in Yugoslavia, where Tito is setting up a pro-Soviet régime, in opposition to the pro-British government of King Peter in Cairo.

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While Benes and Tito work on the reorganization of eastern Europe under Russian sponsorship, General Smuts in his sensational speech invites the minor democracies of western Europe to join the British Commonwealth of Nations for the sake of their future security. This appeal has found some echo in western Europe. For the more the European democracies despair of Europe's destiny, the more they will be attracted by the idea of receiving protection as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

This double trend toward east and west is tremendously dangerous for the future of Europe. If it continues, the western democracies of Europe will be inclined to join Britain, just as the states between the Baltic and the Aegean will become satellites of Russia. Between these two worlds, between Belgium and Czechoslovakia, lies Germany. Will Germany prefer to join the west or the east? Will its rulers of tomorrow try to transform it into a British dominion or into a Soviet Republic? Or will it prepare for its new day of vengeance by giving hope to the east and hope to the west of joining them in the hour of decision?

Germany alone would profit from Europe's partition. As a buffer state between Britain and Russia it would, even if disarmed, have the chance of becoming the arbiter of Europe by choosing whether to join Britain against Russia or Russia against Britain; and thus deciding whether London or Moscow be Europe's capital. Again Germany would become the key to Europe and attempt to transform its second defeat into revenge and victory. For, inevitably, the partition of Europe would create a lasting antagonism between Britain and Russia. As there is no natural or historic or ethnographic boundary between eastern and western Europe, any decision would be artificial. Even if Britain and Russia attempted to maintain their friendship and alliance, this would become extremely difficult owing to the inevitable antagonism between their satellites. This friction could only lead to a new war over Europe's future.

To avoid this threat, some post-war planners propose a European federation including both Russia and Britain. But such a federation would not appease the British-Russian rivalry. It would, rather, precipitate this latent conflict for European leadership. In every European government and parliament a pro-Russian party would oppose a pro-British party, one backed by Moscow and

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the other by London. Civil wars would break out between the followers of the west and of the east, involving London and Moscow and all the other capitals of the world.

The United States has every reason to seek to prevent so dangerous an evolution. Furthermore no responsible American statesman could wish to see such a European super-federation, stretching from Capetown to Iceland and from the Azores to the coasts opposite Alaska and embracing, directly or indirectly, the whole of Europe, Africa and Australia, more than half of Asia and the Dominion of Canada. For the establishment of such a huge federation would mean the utter isolation of America and its encirclement from the east and the west.

If Europe can neither be partitioned between Russia and Britain nor federated with them, what then shall become of post-war Europe? Shall the European states again fall back into their pre-war anarchy and independence, tottering from one crisis and one revolution to another until by their misery and anarchy they provoke a Third World War? I believe that the only solution to this problem is the establishment of a limited European federation, embracing only the group of nations living between Portugal and Poland, and organized after the Swiss model on the principles of democracy, federalism and neutrality. In my book, "Crusade for Pan-Europe," I have attempted to show how such a federation could be realized at the Peace Conference. Britain, Russia and America would have to assume a joint sponsorship and guarantee for Europe's neutrality.

The idea of organizing the European continent into such a federation has met some opposition in Moscow as well as in London. It is evident that both Britain and Russia fear the union of 350 million Europeans as a potential threat to their countries. And it is also evident that against the opposition of London and Moscow no union of Europe can be established. Therefore European federation can only be considered acceptable to Britain, Russia and America if established on a solid basis of democracy and neutrality.

A European constitution based on democracy alone disposes of the threat of German hegemony. For among the 350 million Europeans there will be no more than 70 million Germans, facing a vast majority of anti-German Europeans. This majority will be extremely suspicious of any move made by the German minority that could be interpreted as a step toward a new pan-Germanism or Hitlerism. Only if the Germans are deprived by a European federation of their military force and of their armament production, and if their activities are permanently controlled by a European F.B.I., will they cease to be a danger to Europe and the world. No other European power could aim at national hegemony; France being strong enough to lead Europe, but too weak to dominate it.

A Europe of free citizens and equal nations would be, for generations, utterly unable to follow a policy of aggression or of imperialism. The antagonisms between the European nations, which would continue in spite of all federal union, would make any aggressive policy impossible. Even Switzerland, although admirably united and determined to fight any aggressor, would disintegrate as soon as its government started a war of conquest. Its only possible foreign policy is that of neutrality. This argument would be far stronger in a federated Europe that lacked Switzerland's national solidarity, tradition and history.

But even this moral necessity for European neutrality will have to be backed by political agreements. Europe's three sponsors, Russia, Britain, America, will therefore have to safeguard its neutrality against any outward aggression and its democratic constitution against any German attempt to overthrow it. Just as in 1830 Belgium was guaranteed by its neighbors against any possible aggression, so Europe must be sure of being defended in case of any aggression. Then only can Europe agree to drastic disarmament under the control of the three sponsoring powers. The federal army of Europe will have to be just strong enough to enforce its federal authority against eventual secessions or violations of its bill of rights and its federal constitution.

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With Europe's neutrality thus assured, neither Britain nor Russia would be able to find reasonable arguments against European federation. Instead of becoming a diplomatic and economic battlefield first, and a military battlefield later, Europe would be transformed into a pillar of international peace. Just as Switzerland has maintained its neutrality during two world wars, although surrounded by Germany, France and Italy, so Europe will live as a neutral, peaceful and prosperous federation between the three leading world powers, Britain, America and Russia. Everybody would benefit by this neutrality. In the long run Britain and Russia would profit from the fact that they would not be neighbors, but separated by a neutral power. They would profit from the fact that Europe would be neither a British nor a Russian dependency but a loyal friend and prosperous client of both, that Europe would not create but remove frictions between its two great neighbors.

America too would benefit from such a United States of Europe. Never again would American armies have to cross the Atlantic to restore order in Europe. The disarmament of Europe would

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make it possible for Britain, Russia and America to reduce their armaments drastically without imperiling their national security. The great federal and democratic example of the United States of America would, at last, have provided a generous and realistic solution of the European question.

Since Britain and Russia hesitate, it is up to American public opinion to take the lead toward a federal and democratic solution of the European question. As soon as the people of Europe are able to speak, they will greet this idea with enthusiasm, just as the Polish underground has recently proclaimed European federation as the main goal of its foreign policy. The will of the people of Europe, backed by the people of America, will finally decide in favor of a democratic, neutral and peaceful United States of Europe.

Australia and The United States

The impact of this war

James G. Murtagh

ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1939, one hour after Great Britain, the Commonwealth of Australia, with only an infant army, navy and air force, and a negligible armaments industry, declared war on nazi Germany. Even on December 7, 1941, when Japan struck at Pearl Harbor, the nation had merely drawn the blueprints for total war, although her services had grown and her arms output was rising. But within eighteen fateful months, which saw the Japanese pounding at her northern gates and the coming of the Americans to the South Pacific, Australia was marshaled as never before in her history in a struggle for national survival.

The Pacific conflict has brought a radical change in her international outlook and wrought virtually a social revolution in her domestic economy. As the full significance of the country's geographical isolation emerged into the national consciousness, her statesmen struck out on an independent foreign policy. They refused to regard the war in the Pacific as a subordinate segment of the global conflict and have acted on a footing of national equality with the Government of the United Kingdom. Australia's new diplomacy combines her membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations with the postulate of the common interests of Pacific nations in the face of the common menace from Japan. Hence, her statesmen have drawn a new alignment with the United States, sought reciprocal relations with the Soviet Union and expressed sympathy with the aspirations of the subject peoples of Asia.

With a population of only seven millions to defend a continent as large as the United States, manpower has been the nation's crucial problem. She has been forced, therefore, to strike a balance between the demands of the home front and overseas cooperation. When Japan struck in the Pacific, Australia's land, sea and air forces had already served with distinction on most of the battle fronts of the world. Australian soldiers had fought on three continents in five different campaigns. Her airmen had flown over five continents, while units of her fleet had taken part in all major naval actions of the globe. Even twelve months after Japan first attacked Australian territory, thirty thousand Australian troops took part in the smashing of Rommel at El Alamein, a turning point in the war.

The year 1942 was the most critical in the nation's history. At every step of the southern sweep of the Japanese—Malaya, Dutch East Indies, Amboina, Timor—Australians fought heroically to hold the line against overwhelming odds and armaments. At Singapore alone eighteen thousand men were posted missing. When the Japanese seemed poised for assault on the Australian continent, United Nations support arrived at last from the United States. The seasoned army of the Middle East was brought home, except for one division with liberal reinforcements, and Americans and Australians were united under the command of General MacArthur. The coming of American men and machines and the appointment of MacArthur to the supreme command in the South Pacific area saw the slow turning of the Japanese tide.

The arrival of the Americans in Australia brought the greatest sense of relief in the nation's history. With a handful of people to defend a continent against the swiftly approaching Japanese, the outlook was dark and disturbing. But the prospects changed overnight and Australians realize, appreciate and will never forget that they owe their security to the coming of the Americans. General Douglas MacArthur, whose dramatic flight from the Philippines foreshadowed their ar-

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rival, is both a hero and a legend. After his short appearance before the public, in his early days in Australia, he disappeared into the heat of the tropical battle fronts. He gets surprisingly little publicity and makes no public appearances, but every day official communiqués from his headquarters make the front pages of the papers, with their minimum of display, much less than they get in the American press. He has become, for the average Australian, a rather mysterious figure, somewhere up north, who is not saying much but is doing his job. They like it that way and MacArthur has the confidence and admiration of all Australians.

The Yanks, as they are universally called, have impressed Australians by their easy friendliness, their democratic ways, their appearance and their manners. Their well-cut uniform is smarter than the Australian, while, in social relations, they are more courteous than the average Australian soldier. This has been especially noticed and appreciated by the female of the species. They have even accustomed themselves to walking in public with an American escort, *hand-in-hand*—a novel sight in Australian cities and one that brings disgust to a hard-bitten Anzac. The impact of the languages is curious. In general, Americans are adopting Australian expressions, while Australians are taking over American expressions. But few Australians have succeeded in acquiring the inflections and variations of the American "Huh-huh," which can range from a categoric negative, through vague assent, denial, approval, interrogation, to subtle implication and innuendo. Naturally, Australia has done everything it could to make the Americans feel at home. An American note is familiar on the radio and at the theaters. The radio stations carry the main American national entertainment programs—Jack Benny, Bob Hope, Fred Allen, Charlie McCarthy, Fibber McGee and Molly, etc., apart from the special service programs—while the theaters and movie houses play the "Star-Spangled Banner" as well as "God Save the King" and "Advance Australia Fair," in all, three national anthems. But the Americans are no longer treated as strangers. They fit easily into the Australian scene and have settled down to Australian ways, even if the coffee makes them mad. This is particularly true of Queensland, which, in the spirit of the people and the atmosphere and potentialities of the state, is not unlike Texas. Many Americans have been impressed by the possibilities of Australia and have their eye, it appears, on future settlement. But it is to be remembered that they are seeing Australia under abnormal war conditions and many of the things they miss and the poor services they would like to supply are due to war demands on manpower and are equally galling to Australians.

The US Catholic service men are a credit to their faith and to their country. This is the general comment of priests and observing laymen. Americans are conspicuous in the city and suburban churches of metropolitan areas. And many stories are current of the sacrifices they make to get to Mass and the sacraments in the back country. An Australian priest was visiting a remote camp in the arid southwestern sector of the continent, with a party of officers and business men. An American sergeant from Massachusetts greeted him and in the course of conversation said he was able to get to Mass only once a month. The priest was surprised that he could go at all, for there was no priest within many miles. But the sergeant explained that once a month they got a week-end leave and he and a group of Catholics boarded a train and traveled sixteen hours there and sixteen hours back for Mass at a famous mining town, where Mr. Hoover was an engineer in his early life. When the priest remarked that he would not be bound to go to that trouble, the sergeant replied, in full hearing of the assembled business men, "Well, Father, I guess there's one thing follows you round the world and that's the Mass!" On July 4, 1943, US Independence Day was commemorated with Solemn High Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne. A US naval band of over eighty players caused something of a sensation when they played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Advance Australia Fair" within the cathedral. At the consecration, a US bugle and drum corps sounded echo taps, ruffles and flourishes. The occasional sermon was preached by Reverend F. A. Gallagher, S.J., a US naval chaplain. Afterwards, Archbishop Mannix, who presided, sent a telegram to General MacArthur "praying God to guide and uphold you until we can all once more live and rejoice in the Christian way of life."

Perhaps the most lasting impression the Americans are making is in the development of the communications and resources of northern Australia. The north has been the back door and the back yard of the continent. But the war against the Japanese, the work of the Americans and the post-war pattern of the Pacific have made it the front door of the Commonwealth. The Americans, with their superb equipment, the like of which has never been seen previously, combined with their organizing skill and drive for "getting things done," have, under the Allied Works Council, accelerated the industrial development of the northeastern sector of the country. They have opened up the "never-never," as it is called in Australian folk speech, with a network of roads and airfields, developed the artesian water possibilities of a naturally dry land and built vast new plants for war purposes. Townsville, a small sleepy town before the war, is now a busy coastal

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port with a vast hinterland of factories and has jumped in population from some 30,000 to 170,000 people. Cairns, the gateway to the rich Atherton tableland, has also grown out of recognition. Both these tropical towns, with their fine harbors and rich undeveloped inland, seem destined to be great Australian cities of the future.

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To build and equip the fighting forces, to find the resources for total war and to repay obligations under reciprocal aid, especially to the United States, the Commonwealth Government has taken over complete control of national life. The economy has been put in a straitjacket. Emergency powers override any restrictions imposed by federal or state laws. A manpower directorate has virtually complete control over the external lives, occupations and movements of the people.

The state has absolute power to rationalize production through a war organization of industry. Competition for available labor was eliminated and workers were frozen in their jobs, dismissals and resignations being illegal without permission of the manpower authorities. Controls extend into every field of economic life, including foreign exchange, imports and exports, investments and transport. Regulations, gazetted in February, 1942, control profits, property transfers, interest rates, credit policy, wages and prices. Civilian production has been cut to essentials and industry converted to the maximum output of war supplies. Taxation has been carried to the limit of capacity, reaching over ninety percent in the pound on higher incomes. Total taxes have trebled since the war began and half the national income is being spent directly on the war effort.

With these drastic powers, the Government has mobilized the human and material resources of the country for the maximum war effort. Of the total population, 5,000,000 men and women are between the ages of 14 and 65. Of these, nearly 3,400,000 (68 percent) are either fighting, producing war supplies or engaged in other essential war work. The remaining two million are part time or voluntary war workers, married women, the sick and aged and children.

Of the effective male population of 2,530,000, the manpower directorate keeps a balance between the fighting front and the production front. More than 750,000 men have been sworn into the services since the war began, so that one man in every ten of the male population is fighting. Of these 380,000 have volunteered to serve anywhere in the world. This would be equivalent to a US army, navy and airforce of 7,000,000, proportionate to population. Behind these is a Volunteer Defense Corps, some 90,000 strong, composed of veteran Anzacs of 1914-18.

Through the cutting of non-essential civilian production, half a million men and women have been diverted to war work or the fighting services. Some 1,490,000 men are engaged in full-time war work. As the available manpower was exhausted women were called upon in ever increasing numbers. Since the outbreak of the war, more than 30,000 women have volunteered in auxiliary forces to release men for active service, while the number in civilian occupations—mail deliverers, taxi drivers, bus and street-car conductors, etc.—is steadily increasing. In the factories women now number 25 percent of total war workers. Finally, a women's land army has replaced thousands of farm laborers who are in the fighting forces.

★

The phenomenal growth of Australian industry under stress of war has been called an industrial revolution, but it is rather the intensification of trends which began in the 'twenties and developed in the 'thirties. The intensive organization of Australia's munitions production began in 1940. The Government assumed control of all machine tools in the country. None could be bought, sold or transferred without permission. Machinery was bought overseas, especially in the United States, and factories established for tool making in Australia. Today there are seventy-five, producing the finest precision machines and instruments. A scheme for technical training was begun to provide men for the new processes, while trade unions agreed to a dilution of labor standards to meet the shortage of trained technicians.

The rapid expansion of industry has come about through the conversion of private enterprise to war production, under government contract, and the establishment of new factories, some mixed combinations of private and government capital, others exclusively owned and operated by the state. Many of the new factories have been established in country districts, far from the coast, through fear of enemy raids. The resources of the small man are being used to the maximum. Hundreds of small engineering shops are producing component parts which are assembled at central, large-scale plants. By 1943 Australia had achieved mass production in industries that did not exist at the beginning of the war. Her own forces are being fully equipped with most of the items they need, substantial reserves are being built up and large quantities of munitions are being shipped overseas. The range of production includes combat planes, cruiser tanks, armored cars, aircraft bombs, a variety of guns—machine and sub-machine, anti-aircraft and anti-tank, mortars, 25 pounders—and their ammunition, while new shipyards are building destroyers, corvettes and freighters. Under lend-lease, Australia is supplying the American forces in the South Pacific

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with manufactured supplies, small war vessels, docking and repairing service, as well as food, stores, transport, camps, hospitals.

The social regimentation of Australia for war has brought many developments of profound significance for the future. The vast increase in industrial potential, the growth of the mixed corporation, the control of investment and finance, and the freezing of labor under a growing centralized federal power all foreshadow a strictly planned economy and a new mercantilism after the war.

Against the background of Australia's familiarity with state control and ownership and the mentality of the people, who look to the state for everything, the broad pattern of social controls, which guide the economy today, does not loom as revolutionary. They are the logical development of tendencies deeply rooted in the national mind and tradition. It would be unrealistic to imagine that they are merely temporary expedients destined to lapse automatically after twelve months of peace. Indeed, such a relaxing of controls would put a severe strain on the social organism if it did not lead to economic chaos. The general policy of a planned economy, with many of the war-time procedures, legal forms and established rights, will doubtless continue. The minds of the people have been unconsciously prepared for them. Indeed, they have apparently, to some extent at least, endorsed the development, after a period of political uncertainty, by the return in the 1943 elections of the Labor Party with the greatest majority in its history.

The great question for the future is whether the Australian economic system is to evolve finally into a species of state socialism, or whether, within a planned economy, private industry is to be left to its own initiative to fill in the details. This will depend largely on the social philosophy which inspires the plan for post-war reconstruction. In the light of Australian history and tradition, the outcome is likely to be a compromise—a social service state, on Beveridge lines, with an elaborately planned economy, within the framework of a political democracy.

Beyond Salvemini-La Piana

LUIGI STURZO

SALVEMINI-LA PIANA (see THE COMMONWEAL, December 17, 1943, and January 28) ask me in a quasi-inquisitorial tone: "Why did Pius XI not oblige the editor [of the *Osservatore Romano*] to atone by publishing the genuine text of his speech?" Either they do not place much credence in what I reported or else they found in it another one of those facts (to be listed below) with which to clinch again their accusation. If I answer them that many times the person at the top has to endure the mistakes of collaborators and subalterns (something which we all have experienced in life), they may find fault with my "psychology." If, instead, I remind them that the same Pope, a few months later, convoked in Rome the Bishops of Italy for the tenth anniversary of the Lateran Treaty in order to read a discourse that aimed at defining the position of the Church in relation to fascism—both the meeting and the discourse had to be abandoned because of his death on the preceding day—they may say that they do not know what was in that discourse any more than I do. The fact remains that if it had really not contained anything hostile to fascism, it would not have been deposited by the new Pope in the secret archives.

It does not seem excessive to require from persons of the experience and culture of these two writers a greater comprehension of men and their actions. In regard to myself, how can I help not being amazed by the accusation of having changed my opinion on the solution of the Roman Question, when all my writings are coherent and clear? If I state that in 1929 I wrote that Pius XI *"should have refused the solution of the Roman Question,"* and if now I try to set forth the reasons why he (*not I*) was not in a state of mind to refuse its solution, I certainly am not changing my personal views, I am merely analyzing the historical facts as they manifest themselves before my eyes.

More amazing still, Salvemini and La Piana, who know me very well, in order to twit me (so I believe) and in a hypothetical form give me the qualification of *clerical,* when they are well aware of the fact that for forty-nine years (up to and including today) I have always fought clericalism and clericals, understood in the sense that is given to these words in Italy and France. *A propos* of this, it pleases me to relate a fact they do not know. After the advent of fascism I had written against *"clericals and clerico-fascists"* (indeed, the paternity of the words *clerico-fascist* and *clerico-fascism* is entirely mine). One day Pius XI believed it opportune, in a speech, to defend the word *clerical,* calling it a noble word that derives from *clergy.* He forgot that words have their own life, changing even their meaning without bothering in many instances with etymology.

So I could not help smiling when I came to that part where Salvemini took up my figure of speech (written not at all in a malevolent spirit) of "a paladin in search of battles" to throw it back at me. And I should have accepted it with no difficulty whatsoever (we know that paladins by definition defended the just cause), had I not been, instead, the head of an army with responsibilities that Salvemini was exempt from having, since he works and acts on his own account alone.

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The truth is that Salvemini-La Piana have raised themselves as representatives of the accusation, made almost always in a hostile spirit, against Bishops and Popes as authorities in the Catholic Church, maintaining that from historical position and theoretical conviction these were and are the natural allies of fascism, of any fascism, and are generally on the side of reaction.

Having posited this theory, the world of Bishops and Popes which passes through their hands is nothing but a determined, even a deterministic, world: in it there are no ideas in opposition, no variety of sentiments, no diversity of attitudes, no clashing currents. Those of us who represent democratic ideas and ideas of liberty are entirely out of place, at odds with the Church, merely tolerated, and no more than negligible innovators. Those who faced concentration camps, exile, imprisonment and death are not of the Church nor in the Church, according to these two writers; they represent nothing in the Church, they are merely the exceptions.

But in all societies and in the Church itself (in its human content) it is often the exceptions who ferment the renewals of orientation and ideas. The Christian social movement at the time of the *Rerum Novarum* (1891) was a small exception; today it is the rule. When the political groups of Catholics (with social tendencies) in continental Europe had more than ten million organized laborers and a strong political position in the parliaments of Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, with good minorities in France, Poland, Hungary and even Austria (before Dollfuss), why should one not take into account this current within the Church, certainly not fascist nor reactionary nor dictatorial, but free, progressive and democratic?

Salvemini and La Piana will perhaps say (or the reader may say it) that we Italian Christian democrats (speaking only of Italy) did not succeed in impeding the advent of fascism. But neither did the liberal democrats succeed, nor the socialists, nor the Mazzinian republicans, nor the communists.

Why this was so, the two authors know full well and the reader, too, ought to know. The reason is the same as that for which there was not a single government in the world between 1922 and 1939 that opposed fascism, not even MacDonald's labor government in England, not even the popular front in France headed by Léon Blum, who, in his political (not moral) weakness was at Geneva a proponent of the removal of the sanctions against Italy, without even a *quid pro quo*.

I recall all this merely so that it may be noted how much out of proportion, how far out of the bounds of historical understanding is the attitude of Salvemini-La Piana toward the Vatican. Daniel Binchy (whom they have depreciated with one sentence, but whom they afterwards cite whenever they need him on their side) in his now classic book, "Church and State in Fascist Italy," gives many facts and details concerning the partiality, weakness and incomprehensions of the Italian Bishops, of the Vatican entourage itself, and even of Pius XI (his history does not include Pius XII). We Catholics do not, in the slightest degree, reproach Binchy for his historical accuracy, his enlightened criticism, not infrequently sarcastic. One can point out some slight slips or an occasional mistake here and there, things that can easily happen in any wide large-scale research. But the historical perspective of the sorrowful episode of the relations of the Church with fascism is put in its proper light; it is an episode that recurs according to the times, as it did during the Napoleonic epoch or in that of Metternich.

My article was not a review of the Salvemini-La Piana book: that was well understood with the editors of THE COMMONWEAL; it was rather the criticism of one point that keenly interested American Catholics, because for some years they have been told by all the most authoritative fascists and anti-fascists that the Vatican was for fascism and that their Bishops have been for fascism.

There have been Catholic journalists in this country who have refuted the accusation with the affirmation of principle: the Church is the antithesis of totalitarianism. They are right, but they leave Catholics and their adversaries unconvinced, because the facts are there to attest the collaboration of the Church with fascism, and the enthusiasm toward fascist gestures in favor of the Church on the part of many Catholics, laymen, priests and bishops—a thing that has disturbed many consciences.

A propos of this, I must make a rectification. My original text was that the European bishops (apart from the Italians) were not favorable to fascism (except for occasional praise of the Lateran Treaty). Salvemini-La Piana answer me by citing the *gossip* of "Civis Romanus" concerning the French Cardinals, who, however, were not all *Action Française,* as my contradictors appear to believe. Cardinals Verdier and Liénart were anti-*Action Française,* as were many other French bishops.

My position, like Binchy's and that of many other Catholics, is to put forward clearly the facts exactly as they were without denying them (it would be silly) nor attenuating them, in their exact historical perspective, with the meaning which the actors and those responsible for them gave to them (even if they were mistaken), and in their coherence or incoherence with Christian theories which are eternal and undergo no attenuation because of the errors and actions of men.

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That is why I am happy that American Catholics now cite Binchy as they would not have done four years ago. One must be convinced that only the truth frees, and one must never be afraid of the truth which can always be defended against the attacks of Right or Left.

The polemics which Salvemini and La Piana have fostered with their book ("What to Do with Italy") will not easily die down, since they touch Catholic sensitivity and foment anti-Catholic prejudice. And, since, willy-nilly, the future of Italy is bound up with the position which the Vatican will hold there (religious, of course, and not political) all the Catholics and non-Catholics of the world who are interested in such problems will watch the Italy of tomorrow as the field of a great experiment.

Let not the Catholics of the United States be misled by the blind prejudice of Italian anti-clericalism (it existed for historical reasons—one of which was the temporal power of the Popes—which today no longer apply). Let them know, instead, that in Italy today there are Catholics (and non-Catholics, too), reasonable men, honest, sincere, lovers of truth, who seek to overcome the resentments of the past and create an atmosphere of tolerance and religious respect and of political cooperation among all. Were they not American citizens, I should like to find Salvemini and La Piana among these men when, having put aside polemical and bitter criticism, these Italians have to remake the new Italy that will emerge from the ruins of the war.

Communications

DON STURZO, THE VATICAN, FASCISM

Cambridge, Mass.

TO the Editors: We wish to thank you for publishing our reply to Don Sturzo's criticism of "What to do with Italy." At the same time, however, we must take exception to the statement made in your editorial in the same issue of COMMONWEAL (January 28), under the caption "Salvemini and La Piana": "They believe that the Church, in the person of its officials, has been a moral ally of fascism, and hence they assimilate the Church to fascism. And since all the antagonism of which they are capable is centered on fascism, their attitude toward the Church is strongly antagonistic."

This statement does not represent at all our attitude toward the *Church,* as it can be judged from our book. Neither did we assimilate the *Church* to fascism. The *Church* is a spiritual and institutional entity which transcends the person of its officials; it is the body of doctrines, of moral principles, aspirations and hopes which is above its officials and it is the congregation of the faithful without limitations of time and space. In our book we did not deal with either the doctrinal or spiritual claims of the Church; we did not criticize, much less attack, its moral teaching or even its internal canonical discipline.

If anything we, following the lead of Don Sturzo, appealed several times to the moral principles of Catholic theology in our criticism not of the *Church* but of the *political activities* of the Vatican and of members of the hierarchy. The history of the papacy is far from claiming exemption from political blunders and the historians, Catholic included, have not hesitated to denounce them. Nobody has ever identified the *Church* with the political blunders of a pope or a bishop.

Whatever our viewpoint toward the *Church* may be, this was not a matter with which we were concerned in our book. As firm believers in freedom and democracy we advocated for the Catholic Church in post-war Italy the enjoyment of all the liberties and rights to which religion is entitled in a truly democratic régime.

To present our book as an attack against the *Church* is not only a misrepresentation of its content and aims, it is still worse, it is a bad service rendered to the *Church.* By suggesting that the American Catholic mentality is incapable of disassociating religion from politics and of distinguishing between spiritual and temporal interests when dealing with the Vatican and the Italian problem, the American Catholic press is giving Italian anti-clericals one more reason and a new moral justification for resisting all attempts to have the Italy of tomorrow ruled according to the whims of American "clericals."

G. LA PIANA—G. SALVEMINI.

We are delighted to receive this letter from Messrs. Salvemini and La Piana. It seems to us to indicate that there is a reasonable possibility (apart from the question of their citizenship) of Don Sturzo's realizing the fond hope with which he ends his article elsewhere in this issue. From the magazine writings of these two Italian-American polemists, as well as from their recent book, we had come to the conclusion that the only charitable explanation of their attitude was that which we expressed editorially and to which they now take exception. We trust that all of their readers will in future be equally aware of the distinction they now themselves so emphatically assert.

THE EDITORS.

THE AMERICAN BACKLANDS

Memphis, Tenn.

TO the Editors: "The United States Supreme Court will soon be called upon to decide whether or not an Arkansas Sharecropper's cabin constitutes a home which a citizen has a constitutional right to defend against illegal entry," H. L. Mitchell, President, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, said today when he announced that an appeal would be taken in the case of Tee Davis.

A sentence of 10 years in prison was upheld last week by the State Supreme Court of Arkansas against Tee Davis, convicted of assault on a plantation owner, Harold Weaver of Edmondson, Crittenden County, Arkansas. According to the trial record, Weaver had joined two other plantation "laws" deputy sheriffs in a raid on homes of all sharecroppers near Edmondson, searching for a cattle thief. The last cabin in the settlement, occupied by Tee Davis and his wife, was reached about 10 P. M.,

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just as the sharecroppers were going to bed. The dogs of neighbors were barking. Some one called out in the darkness, open the door you black ———, and began kicking the door down. Davis grabbed his shotgun and fired through the door at the intruder. Pistol shots answered the shotgun. Weaver was hit in the hand but was not injured seriously. The other two raiders arrived and upon a demand to open the door in the name of the law, Davis gave up and was carried to the Crittenden County Jail and held from March 22 to November 23, 1943 awaiting trial.

A jury composed of plantation owners heard the case and it was brought out that Tee Davis had in 1936 also been involved in a strike of cotton choppers. Despite the instructions of the presiding judge as to the law, the jury promptly returned a verdict of guilty and imposed the heaviest sentence under the law for assault.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Workers Defense League and other organizations concerned with the preservation of civil liberties of citizens are interested in the Tee Davis case. K. T. Sutton of Helena, Arkansas, Chief Counsel for the STFU, representing Davis, will handle the appeal to the US Supreme Court.

Harold Weaver, the plantation owner, is the defendant in a civil suit brought by 30 union members whose property, consisting of houses and land near Edmondson, was taken away from them through illegal tax sales during the depression. The case has been in court for two years and attorneys for Weaver have fought a delaying action to prevent a decision from being handed down. It is alleged that Weaver is the front for a group of Crittenden County planters who seek to drive out all remaining small property owners. Two years ago several Crittenden County officials were convicted in Federal Court for depriving numerous citizens of their civil rights. These individuals are now serving their sentences, but the same powerful planters retain control of the county including the courts. SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION.

The Stage & Screen

Take It as It Comes

BETTER NOT. A circuitous scheme involving a Jersey household built into a "Model Family" by a homemaking magazine and subsequently involved with gangster money, the proceedings are, I think, as silly as they are temporary; in spite of the abundance of what Mr. Gibbs has called "dumb money" along the street. Some able actors—Louise Lorimer and Frank Wilcox among them—were utterly lost in the shuffle and in turn, through no fault of their own, lost most of their audience at the end of the second act. The author—publicized as SOMEONE in Wall Street—has chosen to operate under a *nom de plume*—a device which seems to me to indicate either uncommon vanity or uncommon caution under the circumstances. (*At the Forty-eighth Street.*)

The Mikado

ALTHOUGH a determined collector of the recordings of the D'Oyly Carte Company, I am unlucky enough never to have seen that group in action, so have little basis for comparisons in reviewing R. H. Burnside's current Repertory. In the main, I think the present production of "The Mikado" can go down as entirely *safe and sane* Gilbert and Sullivan. The singing seemed to me to be excellent and although I did not care for the way the chorus was handled physically on the stage, and although the costumes appeared to me to be painfully garish, I had a most agreeable time. It is true that the acting is only par; and the gravest disappointment to me was the lack of fun on the part of the players—a sort of serious identification with their rôles which disputes, I think, the delicate satire of their material. However, Robert Pitkin for one, as The Mikado, set a more generous style. With one quizzical eye on the house, he very often suavely winked at it; and the timing of his little fandango had the exact fillip. And it was lovely and nostalgic to find Florenz Ames again, this time as Ko-Ko; although I do wish he would not take "Tit-Willow" at such a pace. As a tip for parents, I would like to add that the matinée I attended was jammed with hundreds of delighted and knowledgeable infants, all of whom seemed to know the words and the music, and to approve them lustily. Announced next are "Pinafore" and "Trial by Jury" in a double bill; and after that, "Pirates of Penzance" and "Cox and Box." But better check the dailies for exact dates. (*At the Ambassador.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Boys Will Be Boys

FROM the very beginning of *"The Sullivans"* one knows how the film will end; and this approaching sadness casts a misty tear over the whole movie. The newspapers and the newsreels have recently told about and shown Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan receiving the five Purple Hearts. Even without the film's foreword ("This is a true story"), the publicity built up around the Sullivan family has conditioned us to the theme of the picture. I don't know how true are the details of the many incidents of the biographical story written by Edward Doherty and Jules Schermer, but Mary McCall, Jr., has fashioned the tales into a lively and unpretentious script and Sam Jaffe has assembled a production that is noteworthy for its simplicity and realism. In his direction, Lloyd Bacon has emphasized sprightly humor and catch-in-the-throat pathos. He has kept his eye on the climax, but it is difficult for us to decide whether we are moved by the touching and homey events as they take place or by the impending tragedy.

"The Sullivans" is *not* a war picture. The first half is concerned with the family during the twenties when the five boys and their sister were youngsters. Mr. and Mrs. Sullivan had no easy time of it—what with so many mouths to feed and six normal, energetic children to raise as good Catholics and good Americans. We are shown a series of well rounded episodes that add up to spell Mid-Western boyhood: games, fights, pranks, smoking, Al's

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first Communion, George's running away, behavior at meals, tooth pulling, boating, etc., etc. By far the most interesting incident is the one in which the boys build a woodbox—with unfortunate results and later unhappy administrations of punishment. Then the story skips to 1939 and a few episodes in the young manhood of the Sullivan boys. Don't expect too much from this part of the film; none of this study is done with the analytical eyes that saw Studs Lonigan. Nor is the picture meant to be a sociological survey of Irish-American Catholics. However, it has caught extremely well the feeling of family relationships and the ties that bind a group of people like the Sullivans to Church, State and most of all to each other. When the boys felt it their duty to join the Navy on the day after Pearl Harbor, their clannishness made them go as a body and insist that they be kept together. Somehow the Navy granted their unusual request. After a sequence that shows the naval battle off the Solomons and ends in a terrific explosion that brings death to the five boys, the camera takes us back to the mother, father, sister and Al's wife, as a naval officer comes to their house to announce their loss. This is the film's big scene and the one that will tear your heart out. And shortly thereafter we see the family at the launching of the USS *The Sullivans*. I wish the movie had ended on this note rather than on the mawkish finale that shows the five boys together again on a sort of a heavenly bike—a touch that might better be left to the imagination. The acting throughout is good. Newcomers, with unfamiliar faces, play the boys and young men with sincerity and conviction. The sets of the Waterloo, Iowa, locale and the house interiors are excellent and the photography is steeped in good Americana. I'm not sure exactly what the film is trying to prove, but through the fine performances of Selena Royle and Thomas Mitchell, who portray the mother and father, "The Sullivans" is a beautiful tribute to American parents. Just as the film opened with this mother and father proudly watching the baptism of their boys, it should have ended with them proudly watching the christening of the USS *The Sullivans* because this mother and father are the real heroes of the film.

John Wayne as Wedge Donovan acts much more like a temperamental Irishman in *"The Fighting Seabees"* than do any of the Sullivans in their film in which one might expect a lot of flightiness. However Donovan is made to see light; and after behaving like a pig-headed and spoiled boy through the first half of the film, he repents, goes Navy in a big way and cooperates with the experienced men who have definite ideas on how to win battles and kill Japs. Of course Wedge Donovan, the hard fighting engineer, is not one who can follow orders for long; so just before the climax he disobeys his superior officer and is off picking a fight with the Japs in another part of this Pacific island when the crafty Japs are attacking the air field and oil depot. Donovan returns in time to prove himself a hero. Although "The Fighting Seabees" does spend a lot of footage displaying the stubborn personality of Wedge Donovan and the competition between Wedge and a lieutenant commander (Dennis O'Keefe) for the hand of a reporter (Susan Hayward as the most omnipresent female

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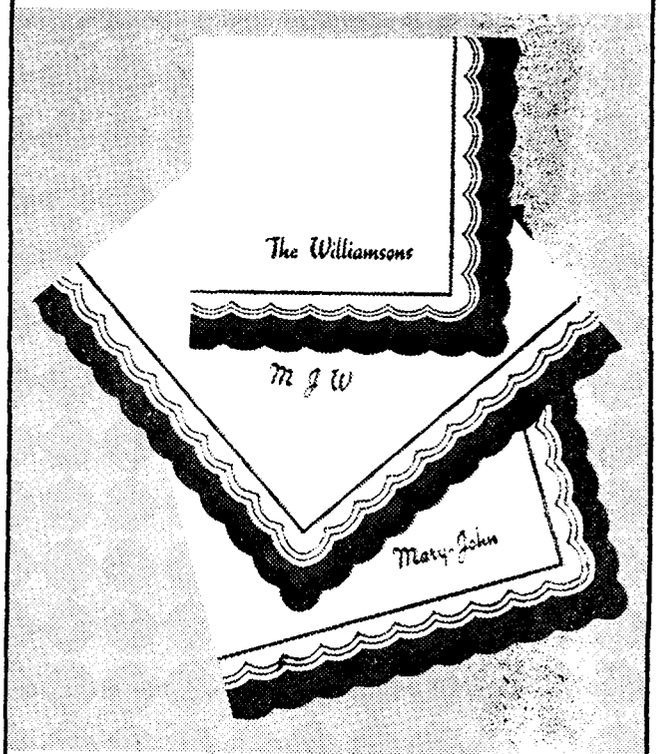

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correspondent in any of our recent war movies), the film is also able to give some idea about the Seabees themselves and how this organization came into being. That construction engineers should be equipped with guns and know how to use them became evident after the first few attacks by the Japs in the Pacific war theater. The screenplay by Borden Chase and Aeneas MacKenzie is highly fictional, particularly as to the characterization of the three leads and the love story, but the outline of the need for development of the Seabees is based on fact. Director Edward Ludwig has included some tough fighting scenes in his film, and while members of the armed forces might find flaws in the battle sequences (in spite of the fact that the film had technical advisers from the Navy) these battles are made as realistic as is possible in cinema. The acting on the part of Wayne, O'Keefe and Hayward is good, but the film will be remembered more for its portrayal of the Seabees in action than for the details of plot and handling of individuals. It is strange that this is the first film to honor this branch of the service, and it is gratifying that this cinema tribute should be handled in such a straightforward, sincere manner.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Editors' Choice

THE ROAD TO TEHERAN. *Foster Rhea Dulles. Princeton.* $2.50.
RUSSIA AND THE UNITED STATES. *Pitirim A. Sorokin. Dutton.* $3.00.

Traditions of Friendship

IN VIEW of the responsibilities that lie before us, the little-known story of American-Russian relations is worth dipping into right now. That is exactly the task which Mr. Dulles set himself in "The Road to Teheran" and he fulfills it very creditably in a rather quiet way. There is little that is terribly dramatic or inspiring about the course of our relations. The fact that Francis Dana had to cool his heels for so many months before Catherine felt that our new country was well established enough to begin formal dealings with, seems to have had little effect on our subsequent relations. Thirty years later Czar Alexander tried unsuccessfully to mediate between his friends Britain and America in their war of 1812. There was disaffection over the Monroe Doctrine, which was aimed at the Holy Alliance, but in 1863 when Russian fleets out of precaution took refuge in New York and San Francisco harbors in the midst of our own Civil War it was taken over here as a warm gesture of friendship.

The purchase of Alaska in 1867 was the most important transaction between the two nations in the nineteenth century. The failure of Russia's colonizing company there, and the Czar's realization that he could not successfully defend it if attacked, coincided neatly with Secretary Seward's expansionism. The price was $7,200,000 and the treaty was speedily concluded and in virtual secrecy; yet it was ratified in ten days. Official visits and American relief shipments were highlights of the next three decades, a period marked by intensely cordial feelings between the two countries.

Since the turn of the century things have not been so happy. We did not like Russian encroachments upon Manchuria. American public opinion was adverse in 1904-5 until new fears arose over the decisiveness of the Japanese victory. The Czar's repressive policy after the outbreak in 1905 further alienated an America highly conscious of its new progressivism. In 1916-17 the character of the Czarist government proved a great stumbling block over here to the idea that the Allies were fighting for democracy. And the acclaim that greeted the early days of the Revolution turned to bitter disillusionment over the Russian capitulation and the bloody excesses of the Trotsky-Lenin dictatorship. Recognition eleven years ago led to no wild enthusiasm, while the antics of the American Communist party could hardly have been more unpopular. Only our growing admiration for the Russian Army has reversed the trend, although recent Moscow pronouncements indicate the shoals that lie ahead.

In the century and a half that all this has been going on, there have been many non-political developments which have tended to draw the two peoples together. In "Russia and the United States" Pitirim A. Sorokin tries to show that from every angle American and Russian characteristics, interests are not only harmonious but virtually identical. Obviously he tries to prove too much. In the course of building up his case some rather strange historical interpretations come to light. Finland's financial dependence on Great Britain, the United States, Germany and Sweden is advanced as one reason for the Russian invasion in 1939. The multiplicity of religious sects in Southern California, Jehovah's Witnesses and the success of Billy Sunday are cited to prove that "in many ways American mysticism is, if anything, more pronounced than that of Russia." Or again, "The virulence and disintegrative forces of the Russian Revolution were limited strictly to the domestic field. . . . Even if Russia was temporarily suffering from moral and social illness, she at least abstained from spreading the malady to other countries." Shouldn't she have some credit for trying, Dr. Sorokin? Admittedly extreme examples, but this is the second volume to appear in recent weeks that demonstrates that there is something to Dr. Gerald Phelan's contention that philosophers should stick to their last.

Professor Sorokin does not have to work very hard, of course, to show how much depends on wholehearted collaboration between the two nations from now on. And he has the whole range of the arts and sciences to indicate how deep Russian cultural penetration has been throughout America. He believes that the Revolution has completed its destructive phase, including the religious persecution which "in its severity rivals almost any religious persecution in history." He pins his faith on the "socio-cultural" forces which increasingly push Stalin and the others into a constructive course. And while he recognizes the subservience to the State of the new Russian Orthodox Church, he counts on the religious fervor of those who survived the persecution. He makes a good point about the growing similarity of the Russian and American mixed economies. All in all here is considerable evidence that the USA and the USSR can work together.

More Books of the Week

Clowns and Angels. Wallace Fowlie. Sheed. $2.50.

AFTER a careful reading, Mr. Fowlie's little book strikes one both by its unevenness and the broad range of its sensitivity. If the first section is disappointing—it is fragmentary and somewhat biased—the second

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section, "The Contemporary Hero," is extremely rewarding. The analysis of the major French contemporary novelists—Gide, Mauriac, Romains and Proust—shows that the author is not only profoundly familiar with their work but also that he has an understanding of, or, more exactly, a critical sensitiveness to the contradictory aspects which exist within the modern French spirit. In the contemporary novel the author sees a transformation of the classical tragedy into tragedy which can no longer contain its own solution. In the case of Gide because the hero is more interested in analysis and never-ending discovery of himself than he is in reaching truth. "But," as Mr. Fowlie remarks, "perhaps the quest for truth during a lifetime, when the quest itself is the real stimulation, weakens any profund desire to attain the truth. To attain truth by believing in it implies the submerging of oneself in it. This Gide has not done." Or again, because the nominal hero refuses to assume full responsibility through real suffering: "the titular hero seems to become important by his very desertion of heroism." In the work of Jules Romains there is—at least up till the present—a determination not to single out one or several heroes but to show only that "no single act is important in itself, but whether or not it is felt by the group is important." I would like to say, incidentally, that Mr. Fowlie's calm analysis of Jules Romains—he does not admire but neither does he show any prejudice—seems to me one of the most completely understanding studies of this French novelist.

I like best the chapter on Proust. In Proust's work Mr. Fowlie notes very clearly the presence of two tendencies characteristic of a certain modern literature: the psychologism and the infantilism which—without in any way depreciating the writer's art—it produces. "The modern hero seems to be characterized by his search and effort to adjust the world to the facts of his imagination. Thus, the modern hero represents, to an extraordinary degree, a case of infantilism. He is a child, not because of his innocence, but by his reconstruction of a distorted world." It is only with Mauriac that the hero becomes once again a hero in the sense that he knows the distinction between good and evil and is engaged in a struggle in which the stake exceeds in importance sterile self-analysis. This modern hero, whom Mr. Fowlie sees typified by Jean Pélouеyre of the "Baiser aux Lépreux," no longer attains his grandeur through a crisis which decides the very existence of grandeur—as is the case with the classical hero—but through the hero's ordinary, daily existence which, itself, becomes tragic and heroic. "He is the timid, ordinary man who appears great by the *grotesqueness* of his suffering . . . to live and to continue living in their form of heroism."

It is in the lineage of French poets—Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud and especially Claudel, the heir to Pascal's vision "of man growing into the magnitude of the universe"—that Mr. Fowlie sees the most highly metaphysical, spiritual and freshly creative aspect of French literature. For Claudel, to know is to be, to be is to create; and this freedom of creation in knowledge engenders a joy which only the metaphysical poet experiences and expresses: "But the century is opposed to joy. What we know today above all is the caricature of joy. Joy is far away from comedy, detached, living apart in a sphere closed to weakness, irony, bitterness." The author, however, makes a clear distinction between poetry and mysticism—a subject dear to the heart of the most

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recent French literature of poetic criticism (cf. the issues of *Fontaine* for 1942).

This is a book rich in sensitiveness and distinguished in its analytical qualities. A quotation or so should suffice to show that it should be read: "The true poet, when a mystic, is the seeker; the true mystic, when a poet, is the recorder." "The creation of art represents a moment in man's search for the unity which the mystic apprehends in contemplation . . . the artist sees the things of this realm; the mystic uses them as a point of departure in order to see." "The mobility of the skies is in poetry. The immobility of Heaven is not in poetry."

PAULE BERAULT.

A Short History of Russia. B. H. Sumner. Reynal. $3.75

I HAVE previously pointed out that the foreign observer who seeks to solve the "Russian riddle" fails to do so because he is not given the necessary background. This is why such a book as Mr. Sumner's "Short History of Russia" is most welcome. It is an unbiased and penetrating study, without the sweeping conclusions which only add to confusion in the reader's mind.

Mr. Sumner demonstrates that seven basic influences have shaped Russia: the frontier, the form of the state, the land, the Church, the Slav race, the sea and the impact of the West. The author analyzes in detail these influences, geographical, political, religious, social, economical and cultural, and the very fact of having succeeded in doing so in less than four hundred and fifty pages is a remarkable achievement. In each instance, Mr. Sumner starts his analysis with the present, that is with the Soviet Union today, and then works his way back throughout the ages, disclosing the long historical process which has molded Russia. As the author points out, the Soviet Union has inherited some of the distinct features of the former Russian empire: like Czarist Russia, it is still a land of many different peoples, and it is a land of moving peoples. The history of Russia is the history of a continual struggle of these peoples inside shifting borderlands. They are engaged in a conquest of natural resources, in the taming of nature; not in external expansion, but in what Mr. Sumner rightly calls "internal colonization," a process somewhat similar to the external colonization pursued by the West. Thence a continual fluctuation of population, an intermingling of races, a dynamic growth within Russia, which has found its last expression in "the multinational Soviet Union."

It is impossible to summarize in a few lines the pattern of Mr. Sumner's work. Each of the seven chapters dealing with the seven basic influences would require a detailed discussion. First the author describes the October Revolution, and the rôle played in it by Party and Soviet. Then he gives us a picture of the 1905 Revolution which was a prologue. And this in turn leads us to a survey of the entire political background: the Romanoff dynasty, the various rudiments of representative institutions, the structure of the Russian state, its Byzantine and Tartar origins, etc. In another chapter we find a detailed discussion of the agricultural problem, once more starting with the present-day system of collective farms, then turning to the various agrarian experiments of former years, and finally reaching as far back as the primitive peasant commune, or "mir." There are only a few examples of the methods adopted in this historical panorama. They are most profitable and illuminating in so far as they not only furnish ample information but are also a stimulant for

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further research. The excellent bibliographical material given at the end will provide the necessary key.

This "Short History of Russia" deserves a better title. It is one of those books which cannot be glanced through in a hurry, nor can one put it easily aside with the feeling of having exhausted its contents. It should be carefully studied. Its accurate terminology and clear-cut style greatly facilitate our task, provided we want to do some serious reading.

HELEN ISWOLSKY.

Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory. E. R. Stettinius, Jr. Macmillan. $3.00.

THE DEBATE that preceded our entry into this war found us bitterly divided, and it took the impact of the attack on Pearl Harbor to mold us into a common purpose. Even yet there are undercurrents of doubt in several segments of our population. It is reasonable to assume that the debate will be revived after victory, when the issue of our future international procedure again becomes the major problem. It can be safely predicted that in the revived discussion the key point will be lend-lease; for it was the passage of H.R. 1776 in March 1941 that marked our entrance into World War II. Other indications of our attitude, such as the destroyers-for-bases deal, had pointed the way; the anti-climax on December 8 sealed the matter. Yet, our active participation began with lend-lease.

In both world conflicts, we entered the struggle for the same basic reason: our wish to deny the control of the Atlantic to a continental power. But in World War I, we found a legal formula—our opposition to unrestricted submarine warfare, and through it, we channelled all our emotional attitudes. In World War II our feeling was so strong that no legal basis was required. We did however, find a formula; and its name was lend-lease.

Because the passage of this act was the most important milestone on the way to war, we are singularly fortunate in possessing this volume from the pen of its able administrator. That it is written with an eye to the future is obvious. It is clear that the author is aware of the historic importance of the agency he has so admirably directed. While the volume bears the impress of many hands, this does not detract from its value. The important fact is that the man most intimately connected with lend-lease placed his approval upon a presentation of its case while the war is still on and before the final results of the policy can be known.

Mr. Stettinius makes a very strong case. Assuming that our participation was just and necessary, there are few flaws in his argument. At the time of its passage, Britain and China stood alone before the totalitarian powers. It seemed impossible that they could continue indefinitely an unequal struggle. Nor were we prepared to enter the conflict at once: we had insufficient military organization and a divided populace. Our munitions industry, though stimulated by the orders placed after the lifting of the arms embargo, was still embryonic. If the defense of the United States required that the oppressors be curbed, the logic of lend-lease is compelling, for it rests on the solid base of success. It did not win the victory; but it gave us time to forge the essential weapons.

While the material here presented is largely statistical, it is redeemed from dryness by the skillful argument and the functional details. If not a book for present reading, it is certainly one to earmark for future reference. Even now it is well to know the extent of "reciprocal lend-

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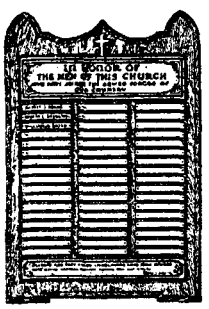

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lease" and the enormous dividends represented by the fighting strength of our allies. To anyone who accepts the author's assumptions, it is inconceivable that the expenditure could be viewed as a loan that must be repaid. If it opens up a new era of postwar trade, as Mr. Stettinius expects, we should have no concern for the balance sheet.

JOSEPH N. MOODY.

War Diary. Jean Malaquais. Doubleday. $2.75.

IT APPEARS that "Jean Malaquais" is a Frenchman of Polish origin; that is to say a Pole who became a Frenchman, which is not quite the same thing as when a Pole becomes an American. It is the great advantage America presents that any man born in any foreign country can come to America and become an American. And a very proud thing which the French know about themselves is that—in spite of a Frenchman being such a peculiar being—the tone of France is strong enough to inform and govern the minds and spirit of foreigners who settle in France. Picasso is thus a French painter, Moréas was a French poet, Julien Green is a French writer. Consequently the fact that "Jean Malaquais" is not of French stock would not be held against him by the French: he is a French writer; and he has been a French soldier.

But still, it is not quite the same thing as if he had come to the United States instead of France and were an American writer—in the way that Louis Adamic is an American writer—and an American soldier. Because in America there are innumerable foreign born who are good Americans and good citizens and in France there are a good number also, but in America there are so many foreign born—or first, second or third generation—that the new citizen can understand America without necessarily understanding the Kentucky mountaineer, the New England farmer. He is at home among good Americans who are not necessarily of old American stock. Whereas in France a new citizen who becomes a good Frenchman—of whom France is proud—is not at home among all Frenchmen. He enters France in one way or another, but not in all ways at the same time. He can be entirely at home as a French writer, for instance, but that does not mean that he is entirely at home among French peasants; it does not mean that he is entirely at home in the rigid and traditional structure which is the French structure. He will yield entirely to the spirit of the French revolution and to all the freedom of French thinking, but that does not imply that he will be aware of the French monarchical tradition which built France and prepared the France he knows.

All this had to be said for the reason that when I read this "War Diary" I did not know that Jean Malaquais was not of French origin and I was puzzled by certain aspects of his book. It seemed to me that the horror and disgust that he felt when thrown among the unbelievably coarse and disgusting French peasants, who for a time were his comrades in the French army, could not be explained entirely by his own extreme sensitivity nor entirely by the extreme provocation to which he was subjected. (This book should not be read by anyone who has not almost a professional duty to know the revolting changes war brings about in some men when they are released from the restraints of civilized society.) It seemed to me that there must be some other reason for his shock and distress. I find that reason now in the report that he was not born in France and that his father and grandfather and great-grandfather were not born in France.

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Had he been a Frenchman with all the accumulated experience of the nation in his mind he would still have been disgusted at being thrust among such filthy oafs, but he would have been less surprised, he would have had greater understanding of why they behaved as they did; above all he would have been able to handle himself in such a way as not to provoke them into further excesses. He would have been less the new boy in a tough school.

I do not question his reporting of the facts. It is only that he remains a foreign correspondent—a foreigner not from Poland, but from Paris. He lacks the traditional memories which would have supplemented the artist's and the intellectual's knowledge of France. He is at home among French workingmen for he has been poor and has worked in France. But he is not at home among the peasants. And the trouble is that his whole book is emotionally centered round the peasant whom he does not understand and whom he sees at his worst—in the long tedious and empty idleness of army life while the French waited for the German attack. He knows about the peasant through Jules Renard—he quotes him—and he must know Courteline and the Maupassant of the Norman stories. But he writes as if he had never seen him before.

I am not describing the book. This is only a note for those who read the book, and I have made it clear, I trust, that it is only a note for specialists. "War Diary" is intensely moving, beautiful and sad. It is a book without hope. It is a book which gives a somewhat hysterical impression of French decadence, but then it was written in a dreadful moment. I have no objection to its having been written. I do not believe that depressing and horrible books about the war should only be written after the war is over, when everyone agrees that war is horrible and depressing. I think it gives a one-sided view of the French to foreigners. It will be best if it is read mostly by the French, for they know that their courage has held.

C. G. PAULDING.

An American Dilemma. Gunnar Myrdal. Two Vols. Harper. $7.50.

MYRDAL, a Swedish sociologist, was imported into this country by one of our leading foundations, to make an objective study of the problem of race relations. These two fat volumes are the result. They constitute a veritable encyclopedia of information, and for this they are most valuable. Mr. Myrdal is almost obsessed with the idea that birth control is the eventual solution of this social problem, and this obsession colors his findings considerably. Perhaps this is the reason for his total neglect of all Catholic work in the field—a strange and most unscientific omission.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

Freedom's Ferment. Alice Felt Tyler. Minnesota. $5.00.

A VOLUME additionally labeled "Phases of American Social History to 1860," which seems rather to deal with cultural than social matters. It is good in its treatment of the many Utopian movements of the nineteenth century and its illustrations are most interesting. The scope of the volume is so broad that it cannot be considered a definitive work in any sense. In many cases use is made of secondary rather than primary source material. Yet the whole work is readable and instructive and constitutes a valuable synthesis of what one might describe as the "lunatic fringe" of America's intellectual history. Knowing something about this is important because that same lunatic fringe always has a profound effect upon the thinking of the future.

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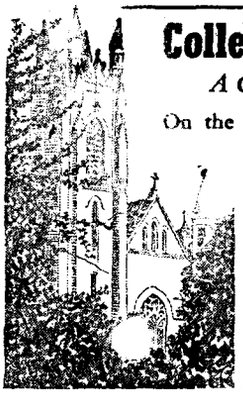

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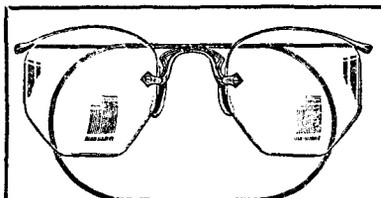

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The Inner Forum

European Universities

IN THE reconstruction of Europe, universities must have a leading part, in the opinion of *Blackfriars,* the able monthly review edited by the English Dominicans. Their January, 1944, issue is devoted to "Catholic Universities in Europe." The long editorial which introduces the issue estimates that before this war there were a million university students in Europe. And they were naturally the most vocal citizens. Once peace is restored the universities will again assume a major rôle. "Catholic universities . . . will offer the greatest means of avoiding the evils of our modern decay. They must be the leaven. They must be islands of wisdom in the sea of modern foolishness. . . . The Catholic university . . . teaches by recognized authority; it has a mission; it must uphold this primacy of the spirit, as well as the organic unity of life and learning. . . . The center of learning must be centered on learning, not on action as such, nor on politics. The center is above politics yet including it within its organic universe; action, right action, must flow out like an abundant stream from the spring of true and detached thought."

One of the most interesting sections of this special issue is a supplement dealing with five of the leading European Catholic universities. Professor S. A. Glaser writes of the Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, which has been adopted by Fordham University in New York, "so that it may continue its existence in exile." It was founded in 1918 by a wealthy Polish landowner-industrialist and a former rector of a Catholic seminary in St. Petersburg. It had four faculties: theology, canon law, the humanities, law and social science. At the outbreak of the war the student body numbered 1,600.

The University of Nijmegen, Holland, was established in 1923 with faculties of theology, law and philology, and philosophy. Its faculty included a number of world famous scholars. Dutch Catholics also founded a university devoted to economics at Tilburg, situated appropriately enough in a busy industrial town. The Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, goes back to the fifteenth century and its faculty of theology played an important part in the Council of Trent. It was suppressed by the troops of the French Revolution but reestablished with Papal authorization in 1833. Tuition there is extremely low. In recent years the student body has numbered from four to five thousand. The final section of this supplement deals with the Angelicum at Rome.

CONTRIBUTORS

Richard COUDENHOVE-KALERGI is the founder of the Pan-European Union and author of several books, the latest of which is his autobiography, "Crusade for Pan-Europe."

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